

Message Text

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TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 0537

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 4860

FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG FROM AGGREY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (YOUNG, ANDREW) RO
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S VISIT TO ROMANIA

1. YOU CAN COUNT ON RED CARPET TREATMENT HERE, FROM BOTH
PROTOCOL AND SUBSTANTIVE POINTS OF VIEW. THIS IS NOT MERELY
AND NOT MAINLY BECAUSE OF YOUR ADMINISTRATION ROLE: YOU ARE
AT THE CENTER OF DEVELOPMENTS WHICH ARE ALSO CENTRAL TO
ROMANIAN FOREIGN POLICY PREOCCUPATIONS. THEY WILL WANT TO
HEAR YOUR VIEWS, AND WILL HOPE FOR A GOOD HEARING FROM YOU
FOR THEIRS.

2. FROM CEAUSESCU DOWN, YOU WILL FIND YOUR INTERLOCUTORS
SOFT-SPOKEN, BUT TOUGH IN ADVANCING THE NATIONAL VIEWPOINT.
CEAUSESCU BELIEVES (WITH SOME JUSTIFICATION) THAT HE HAS
PARLEYED NATIONAL UNITY BASED ON NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE INTO
AN INTERNATIONAL STATESMAN'S ROLE, AND THOSE AROUND HIM
AGREE, SOMETIMES TOO ENTHUSIASTICALLY FOR OUR TASTE. BUT
THE THIRTEEN-YEAR RECORD OF COURAGE AND SAVVY SINCE HE
ASSUMED POWER IN 1965 IS IMPRESSIVE ENOUGH ON ITS OWN
MERITS, AND THE ROUGH EDGES AND OFF-TONES YOU MAY
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PERCEIVE HERE SHOULD NOT DISTRACT FROM THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS
-- IN DEVELOPMENT, IN INTERNATIONAL PRESTIGE AND IN
INTERNATIONAL VALUE -- ON WHICH THIS PRIDE IS BASED.

3. CURRENTLY, WE SEE THE GOR AS ENGAGED IN AN EFFORT TO
DO WHAT IT CAN TO REESTABLISH THE FAVORABLE CONSTELLATION
OF INTERNATIONAL FORCES OF THE EARLY 1970'S THROUGH

RENEWAL OF CLOSE TIES WITH POST-MAO CHINA AND POST-WATERGATE AMERICA AT A MOMENT WHEN THE USSR IS IMMOBILIZED (FOR EVERYTHING EXCEPT MASSIVE DANGER TO SOVIET INTERESTS, WHICH THE ROMANIANS WILL BE CAREFUL TO AVOID PRESENTING, EVEN IF THEY COULD) BY THE PRE-SUCCESSION PERIOD. THE DIFFERENCE FROM THE EARLY 1970'S THAT THE ROMANIANS SEE IS US-SOVIET FRICTION. THEN THE DANGER WAS SOVIET-AMERICAN COLLUSION; THE DANGER NOW IS CONFRONTATION, ESCALATING FROM SMALL BEGINNINGS IN THE THIRD WORLD, BUT LEADING EVENTUALLY TO A SETTLEMENT -- TO AVOID NUCLEAR WAR -- ON THE BACKS OF SMALL COUNTRIES, LIKE ROMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA. THIS IS WHAT CEAUSESCU AND OTHER SPOKESMEN MEAN WHEN THEY PERSISTENTLY IDENTIFY THE MAIN TREND OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AS A "NEW TENDENCY TO DIVIDE THE WORLD INTO SPHERES OF INFLUENCE."

4. CEAUSESCU'S STRATEGY IS THEREFORE TO BE PRESENT EVERYWHERE, DIRECTLY AS IN THE MIDDLE EAST OR THROUGH GOOD ADVISE TO THE PARTIES AS IN AFRICA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA, TO PROMOTE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BY THE PARTIES INVOLVED. CONSEQUENTLY, WE EXPECT YOUR TALKS HERE WILL FOCUS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES IN WHICH YOU ARE INVOLVED, ALMOST TO THE EXCLUSION OF US-ROMANIAN BILATERAL THEMES.

5. DISARMAMENT SHOULD HEAD THE LIST. CEAUSESCU IS
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PERSONALLY INTERESTED IN ANY MEASURE WHICH COULD CONCEIVABLY LEAD TO CURBING THE NUCLEAR COMPETITION AND TO WHAT ROMANIANS CALL "MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT" IN EUROPE. THEY SUPPORT SALT AND, WITH MANY MORE QUALIFICATIONS BECAUSE OF "BLOC-TO-BLOC" CHARACTER OF FORUM, MBFR. BUT THEY TEND TO BE SUSPICIOUS OF US-SOVIET BILATERAL MODE, AND ARE PARTICULARLY WEDDED TO DISARMAMENT VENTURES OF A GENERAL OR "DEMOCRATIC" CHARACTER. THUS, WHILE THEY HAVE SHIED AWAY FROM WDC AS SOVIET-INSPIRED, THEY WERE STRONG SUPPORTERS OF MORE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES IN CSCE, MADE A REAL EFFORT TO BE PRACTICAL IN THEIR UNSSOD PROPOSAL, FEEL THAT ABOLITION OF CCD CO-CHAIRMANSHIP WAS A GENUINE ACHIEVEMENT, AND HAVE GIVEN INFORMAL BUT OFFICIAL ASSENT TO GISCARD'S PROPOSAL OF A NEW EUROPEAN DISARMAMENT FORUM.

6. THE UN'S "DEMOCRATIC" FORMAT -- ALLOWING ALL NATIONS REGARDLESS OF SIZE OF STRENGTH TO HAVE A VOICE IN MATTERS AFFECTING THEIR PRESENT AND FUTURE -- MAKES IT ROMANIA'S FAVORITE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION. IT ACCOUNTS FOR THEIR PERSISTENT ADVOCACY OF CHARTER REFORM, THEIR SUPPORT OF A LARGER UN ROLE IN BOTH THE MIDDLE

EAST AND IN ARMS CONTROL AND THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN ALL KINDS OF UN ISSUES WHICH SEEM AT FIRST GLANCE PERIPHERAL TO ROMANIA'S NATIONAL INTERESTS. YOU WILL FIND AN EXTREMELY ABLE AND KNOWLEDGEABLE GROUP OF OFFICIALS HERE. COMMON THERE WILL BE STRENGTHENING OF UN MACHINERY AND EXPANSION OF ITS MANDATE TO CHIP AWAY AT "BLOC-TO-BLOC" OR "SUPERPOWER-TO-SUPERPOWER" APPROACHES.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUCHAREST 4860

FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG FROM AGGREY

7. THIRD WORLD IS CHOICE TERRAIN FOR GOR FOREIGN POLICY ACTIVISM FOR NUMBER OF REASONS. FIRST, AVOIDANCE OF SUPER-POWER CONFLICT BY TREATMENT OF ROOT CAUSES OF TENSION IS SEEN AS KEY TO CONTINUED MANEUVER BETWEEN TWO HORNS OF COLLUSION/COLLISION DILEMMA: US AND ROMANIAN VIEWS ON AFRICA ARE VERY CLOSE WHEN IT COMES TO HELPING CONTINENT SOLVE ITS OWN PROBLEMS WITHOUT OUTSIDE MILITARY INTERVENTION. SECOND, EXPANSION OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS ON BARTER BASIS -- THIRD WORLD RAW MATERIALS FOR ROMANIAN MANUFACTURES AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE -- IS SEEN AS KEY TO AVOIDING ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE ON THREATENING USSR OR TROUBLED WEST; ROMANIA HAS HIGHEST PERCENTAGE OF TRADE TURNOVER WITH THIRD WORLD OF ANY COMECON COUNTRY. FINALLY, AN ESSENTIAL PART OF ROMANIA'S "INDEPENDENT" FOREIGN POLICY IS TO WIN FRIENDS EVERYWHERE AND TO MAINTAIN RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES (WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS LIKE SOUTH KOREA, UGANDA AND SOUTH AFRICA), AS BUFFER FOR EVER-PRESENT GEOPOLITICAL REALITY OF LONG COMMON LAND BORDER WITH SOVIETS. POINT IS TO INCREASE POLITICAL

COSTOF ANY GROSS SOVIET MOVE AGAINST ROMANIA. IN PAST
FEW YEARS, GOR HAS WOODED THIRD WORLD INTENSELY, AND
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ACHIEVED MEMBERSHIP IN GROUP OF 77 AND GUEST STATUS AT NAM.

8. AFRICA HAS BEEN PRIME RECENT FOCUS -- ALONG WITH
MIDDLE EAST -- FOR CEASUSESCU'S CONCERN OVER MOUNTING
US-SOVIET FRICTION. HE HAS FOREFULLY CONDEMNED ALL
FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS AND HAS URGED
PEACEFUL AFRICAN SOLUTIONS TO AFRICAN CONFLICTS. AT
SAME TIME, GOR IS FULLY COMMITTED TO NATIOAL LIBERATION
STRUGGLES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA; HAS PROBABLY GIVEN THEM
MORE THAN JUST MORAL SUPPORT; AND WOULD PROBABLY BE MORE
THAN WILLING TO PARTICIPATE -- ON RIGHT SIDE AND IN
RIGHT CIRCUMSTANCES -- IN SOLUTIONS. WE HAVE ONE
UNCONFIRMED REPORT ROMANIA MIGHT SEND CONTINGENT TO UN
NAMIBIA FORCE; YOU MAY WISH TO ASK ABOUT IT.

9. ON HUMAN RIGHTS, ROMANIANS WILL BE EXPECTING YOU TO
UNDERLINE ADMINISTRATION'S COMMITMENT TO THIS STRAND OF
US FOREIGN POLICY, AND WILL BE PREPARED TO DEBATE
DIFFERING PERSPECTIVES WHICH SURFACED, FOR EXAMPLE, AT
BELGRADE CSCE. ROMANIAN DEVOTION TO NON-INTERFERENCE
PRINCIPLE, DEVELOPMENT DISCIPLINE AND VIEW THAT BASIC
HUMAN RIGHTS ARE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IS STRONG IN
PRINCIPLE, SUBJECT TO A GOOD DEAL OF MODULATION IN
PRACTICE. YOU MAY WISH TO POINT OUT US POLICY HAS
ALREADY GONE BEYOND STRUGGLE PHASE AND SETTLED INTO
LONG HAUL WHERE WE RECOGNIZE DIFFEREING APPROACHES BUT
CONTINUE TO BELIEVE HISTORY -- AND COMMON INTERESTS OF
MANKIND -- IS ON OUR SIDE.
AGGREY

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